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831 By this time other adults had come and, characteristically, entirely pre-empted the children's playthings despite my attempts to prevent it. The men's play with the doll was singularly like that of the children. The interpreter made another breast and the tumukun placed the infant in a nursing position. Then followed some horseplay between the men, in which intercourse between the dolls was suggested. The attitude of some six women who were drawn by the group of boys and men was one of surprise and amazement at the doll figures, but only one of them, a barren, "masculine" woman, picked up the larger doll and played the clown with it in a mock nursing scene. Not only did the other women not touch the dolls, but much sooner than the men they lost interest and walked off.

861 Castration threats occur but seem to be rarely employed. The cases that were reported all happened in late childhood and chiefly in connection with offenses other than sexual (see Rilpada's autobiography, page 272, and Malelaka's, page 331). It is improbable that such threats are to be considered as traumatic as they may be in our culture, where they occur in connection with sexual and excretory activities that are rigorously suppressed. Further anecdotal material on masturbation, castration, and sex play is to be found in the autobiographies.

865 Obscenity both in our terms and in Alorese terms is not uncommon among children. To adults, obscene language from children is reprehensible and merits a scolding if it goes too far, but it is definitely not one of the major sources of friction between children and adults. The following observation indicates the freedom young children have in this respect.

196 865a Two little boys of seven and nine were racing about apparently having a very good time. The older boy began shouting "Vagina" at the younger one, apparently implying that his friend was a woman. The younger boy was answering "No, no!" each time. Finally the older boy elaborated the insult by shouting "Horse's vagina," at which the younger child redoubled his denials and the good-natured pursuit of his tormentor. Adults in the vicinity paid no attention to the children's shouting and seemed undisturbed by it.

The most common obscenity of young children, which to the Atimelanger is little more than a vulgarism, is "vagina" (*boiy*) or "your mother's vagina" (*es boiy*). These terms also have the connotation of "to have intercourse." Adults, especially women who are given to careless speech, will use this expression frequently as an expletive of surprise. References to male and female genitals are quite freely made, and I have the impression that "evil spirit," the favorite expletive of early

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design is first traced on her forehead or cheek and is then pricked in with a thorn dipped in charcoal. The procedure usually draws a number of girls and adult women, all of whom discuss animatedly which of a limited number of simple designs will be used. Often a little girl who has taken no initiative in the matter will be urged by a friend or adult to undergo the operation. Beauty is the only objective.

It is a tradition to insist that the operation does not hurt, and when I asked a girl who had just had the task completed whether it was painful, older women answered before she was able to, assuring me that it was not. On one occasion some older women, by way of teasing the child's grandmother, urged a little girl of seven to let herself be tattooed. The grandmother arrived just in time to prevent the scheme from being carried out. She was very indignant that her grandchild should have been cajoled into it when she was obviously so young. In relation to a discussion of skills and craftsmanship which will come later, it should be stated that the tattooing process is often very crude and usually impermanent, so that traces of designs are rarely distinguishable on the faces of middle-aged women.

GROWING UP FOR BOYS

Whereas girls are tattooed from approximately ten to fourteen, the comparable badge of adulthood for boys, i.e., long hair, does not come until somewhat later, at ages I should estimate from sixteen to eighteen. When boys begin to let their hair grow long, they also begin borrowing or acquiring male accouterments. These are dwelt upon in loving detail in many myths and consist of a sword, a front shield, a back shield, a parrying shield, a bow, a wide belt of woven rattan that serves as a quiver, an areca basket with bells, and the tubular, areca-bark hair cylinder with the accompanying combs and head plumes. Naturally, a young man rarely succeeds in borrowing or acquiring all these articles at first, but he gets as many as he can and struts about in them, often followed by the half-admiring, half-derisive comments of older women and girls. There is a special expression for the type of laughter that women direct toward a young man, which I can translate only by our word *hoot*. Its character is as unmistakable as the laughter that accompanies the telling of smutty jokes in our culture. A young man of about twenty himself described in the following words this attitude and the associated courting interests of both boys and girls.

"When a lot of women get together to work in the fields or to fetch water, they talk and talk. When you hear them hoot, that means they are talking about a man. Maybe one girl says she likes a certain man and intends to sleep with him

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000 So far the discussion of marriage has stressed in large part social forms, their possible repercussions on behavior, and their relationship to personality formations. It may be pertinent at this point to insert certain information on the Atimelangers' more intimate sex behavior and their ideas of procreation.

883 591 It is very common for groups of young people, who are beginning to take gardening seriously, to congregate in field houses and live together more or less consistently for days or months at a time. This is an accentuation of "playing house" among children. Sometimes an older woman or a married couple is the nucleus of such a group, sometimes a pair of young girls or an orphaned boy. Although everyone vigorously [836] denies that "irregular" sexual relations occur under these circumstances, it is perfectly obvious from the autobiographies that they sometimes do. Strict parents usually insist that their daughters return to the family home at night. The absence from the home at nightfall of young or adult men is rarely questioned, but the absence of women and children often leads to a shouted inquiry as to their whereabouts. It is one of the frequent sounds that echoes across the valley as people settle down in their houses after sunset.

832 Intercourse is solicited of young women by touching their breasts. A common euphemism for intercourse is "to pull a girl's breasts," since it is supposed that no woman can avoid being aroused by such a caress or would be able to resist a man who approached her in this fashion. Opportunities for this sort of approach are offered at dances and in the roughhousing that occurs among young people when they are away from their elders. In describing this situation one young man said, "Our hands move about at random and touch a girl's breast. That makes her spirit fly away, and she has to sleep with a man." If what has been said about early childhood experiences and about the role women are expected to play is correct, it is not surprising that most erogenous feeling [833] centers on women's breasts. For a woman to touch a man's genitals is considered completely shameless. A less drastic form of soliciting intercourse is to tug at either a man's or a woman's hand. In marriage people usually wait until they think everyone else in the living room is asleep. 833 Then either partner may indicate desire by giving his spouse a short, tagging pat anywhere on the body. The woman is supposed to remove her loincloth, since the contact with it would be distasteful to the man.

The position in intercourse is ventroventral with the woman below or with both partners on their sides. Any other position is considered rather nasty. In fact, one divorce was partly precipitated, according to [586] the wife, by her husband's demands for the dorsoventral position. One

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informant said, "We hear that the soldiers on the coast know how to 586
have intercourse while standing, but we don't understand such things."
Inquiries about fellatio brought negative responses but precipitated the
following folk tale about intercourse through the nostril.

"Long ago men on the Kebola peninsula did not know how to have 539
intercourse with their wives. They did not know that women had 831
vaginas, so they had intercourse with their wives through the nostril. A
man from here had become a slave and was sold to the Kebola people.
The wife of his owner was pregnant from nasal intercourse, and the
husband did not know how the child could be born. He said he would
have to kill his wife, slit open her abdomen, and remove the child. So
the slave said, "All right, I'll do it for you." He went up into the house,
chased all the people away, and took the woman out into the privy,
where she gave birth in normal fashion.

"The slave hid the mother in a large storage basket and gave her the
child to care for. Then he went out and buried a banana stump in a
grave on the edge of the dance place and sacrificed a chicken. The hus-
band asked, "Have you finished burying the dead person?" And the
slave answered, "Yes." He said the child was already there but that the
father could not see it. After three months, when the child could laugh,
the slave took the father up into the house where the mother and the
child were. He said, "Now I shall show you how this is done." Then,
while the father sat there, the slave had intercourse with the woman.
Since then the Kebola people understand how to sleep with their wives,
but there are still some who seek intercourse through the nostril."

Cunnilingus was a definitely shocking idea.* In connection with chil- 833
dren, it was stated that kissing is not known in the area. However,
mouth play involving biting is practiced. Informants report that wrest-
ling and mock fighting is often a preliminary to the sexual act. Night is
considered the proper time for intercourse. Encounters during the day
and outdoors are considered risqué. Women accuse men sometimes of
preferring the latter type of encounter.

Inquiries from various women concerning anal intercourse produced
a rather shocked denial of its existence. Anal birth, however, was re- 844
ferred to quite casually by a few older women but was unknown to
some younger ones. The women who professed to know of such phe-

* Since there is a good deal of prudery about discussing these matters, this in- 115
formation was secured largely from one person, Fantan the Interpreter, after our 134
relationship had been firmly enough established for me to be reasonably sure he
would answer as honestly as he could. My command of the native language and
opportunities for private conversations with women were not adequate for this
sort of investigation.

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844 nomena gave circumstantial accounts. For instance one old woman said, "Yes, Kolata gave birth in this fashion. The placenta also was discharged through the anus. People placed a poultice of leaves on her as one would for a wound. It was just that the child took the wrong path. Another time, Kolpada had me for a midwife. The child's head appeared through the anus, so I massaged the child back into the abdomen, turned it around, and brought it out through the proper passage." I must confess myself at a loss to explain this particular fantasy.

833 In connection with other topics, reference has been made to continence practiced by men and to frequency of intercourse. Men report that during their early married life they have intercourse sometimes as frequently as every night, but that every other night is considered more nearly the average. However, when a man has two or more wives this may mean that a woman has fewer opportunities for sexual activity than 183 her husband. Further, it will be recalled that men are not supposed to 834 have relations with their wives from the beginning of pregnancy until the child can sit up, or at the very least begin to laugh. This is a period [841] of about twelve to fifteen months. They are also not supposed to sleep with a menstruant.

This might impose considerable restraint on men if they observed the restrictions, which often they do not, and if no other women were available. Furthermore, men are generally expected to be continent during the months of preparation attending financial displays. All these factors might seem to place men under considerable periods of restriction. Probably a man who wishes to avoid them is quite able to do so either by finding other women, especially widows, or by simply discarding the proscriptions in respect to his wife. Since these proscriptions have no attached sanctions, the attitude of his wife will be the determinant should he wish to disregard them.

753 A man's unfaithfulness may have deleterious effects on his children. 684 During the course of eighteen months there were several cases in which sick infants were taken to seers to have extracted from under their sternum a piece of a woman's belt string. This is considered a sure proof that the father has been unfaithful to the child's mother. In none of these cases did the mothers take any drastic action against the men. Their attitudes were those of quarrelsome reproach and did not lead to divorce proceedings. These were among the few instances in which personal hostilities were not translated into financial terms and fought out on that level.

831 Attitudes toward the male organ were difficult to determine but by indirection certain hints were available. For instance, gossip had it that

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one particularly well-built and energetic young man who was still unmarried would have difficulty in procuring a young woman as a wife because his organ was known to be undersized. His father had been concerned about it even when he was a child and had attempted to remedy the situation by massage. On another occasion some women were discussing an ailing boy of two years. They handled his genitals and shook their heads with concern because the male organs were so flaccid. Circumcision is known as a coastal, Mohammedan practice, but it is not followed by the mountain people. Fantan the Interpreter reported overhearing a conversation between two middle-aged women who were comparing the virility of their husbands. One complained that her husband was no longer able to give her sexual satisfaction.

The terms dealing with sexual activities offer two very interesting points in connection with the thesis that sex and food are inextricably associated in the minds of the Atimelangers.

male organs — *batok* (his intestine)
female organs — *boiy* (also verbal form for copulate)
orgasm — *homin ve meli* (heart from it tasty)
male hermaphrodite — *batok muri* (his intestine orange)
female hermaphrodite — *boiy muri* (vagina orange)
philanderer — *tafui* (crab)
illegitimate child — *tafui vi* (crab child)
uvula — *kai boiy bika* (head clitoris)

Of this list perhaps the most interesting features are that the male genitals are associated with his digestive system and that an orgasm is described with a food adjective.

Homosexuality seems to be absent among adults, although again the practice was known among the troops and prisoners on the coast. The attitude is one of not quite understanding why such practices should be desirable rather than one of disapproval. Inquiries into the matter usually precipitated anecdotes about a hermaphrodite from Dikimpe who had died some twenty years before. One of the most complete accounts, which reveals social attitudes toward such a person, as well as toward the two sexes, was given by his grandnephew who had lived with him.

"When Alurkaseni was still small, he was a woman called Tilamani. People would look at him and say, 'This is like a woman but in the middle is a penis.' He wore a woman's loincloth and learned to weave baskets. He even wove areca baskets, which are the most difficult to make. He went to dances and joined in with the women. As he grew up his breasts got big, and men would tug them. Men liked him. He did

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are not supposed to desire women in that condition. Informants report that discomfort is rare and takes the form of only a slight headache or backache. During this time, however, women are inclined to do less work. One woman said, "If a husband orders his wife to do work when she has her friend, older people will say to him, 'Are your eyes closed? Don't you see how your wife is?' A good husband will even cook for his wife at this time."

In connection with late childhood certain references were made to just how far children might go in sexual references before adults were shocked and interfered. It is quite obvious that sexual topics are not tabooed, but it is rather the nature of the reference that is shocking or not. Probably one of the most acute sources of shame in relation to sex is public intercourse. Several pieces of gossip on that score were whispered about the community or were sources of open scandal. Again I had to depend on Fantan the Interpreter alone for such material.

"Padakafeli was married to Falongmau. She didn't want to sleep with him. He got very angry and made a litigation. The chief said he would have to have intercourse with her right there. The mandur held Falongmau. Padakafeli was ashamed, but the chief made him sleep with her outdoors on the dance place. Everyone was ashamed and went up into their houses except a couple of older men who aren't ashamed of anything.

"People are ashamed when a woman like Lopada (who was subject to attacks of hyperexcitability) begins playing with an older man, touches his genitals, or hits him. Sometimes a husband and wife will fight and the wife will rip off a husband's loincloth. That makes him and everyone else terribly ashamed. A man will never touch a woman's loincloth. It would spoil his luck.

"Once the chief of Fungatau was away from home for several days. When he returned, he found that his wife had left to come home to her family here. He came to look for her and called for her to come down from her family's house. She knew what he wanted. There were many people there and she just sat close to her mother. Her husband came up and began fighting with her. They fought terribly and he ripped off her loincloth and wanted to have intercourse with her right there before all the people. He was like a crazy person. All turned their backs and were ashamed. Finally everyone helped to drag them out of the house. They went on fighting down on the verandah. The girl's mother said they were terrible and tried to chase them away.

"Another time he acted the same way when his wife was working together with many people in the fields. Everyone went off but the

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593 owner of the field, who turned his back and continued working. Then
833 the man was angry with the field owner and wanted to fight with him, so the field owner litigated and was paid half a rupiah and a pig as a fine."

831 It is interesting that Fantan, who gave these anecdotes, on two or
522 three occasions when there were dolls or native human carvings on my verandah, manipulated them in intercourse positions to the great amusement of a mixed audience and was laughingly reproved by some older men and women.

INCEST

835 In contrast to these accounts and behaviors the reaction to incest is
582 interesting. There seems to be little tension and shame associated with it. Marriage to any known kin is considered improper, but marriages between second cousins occur without any social opprobrium. The uncertainty about more distant kinship ties and about the propriety of marriage to such persons is revealed in both Kolmani's and Malalaka's autobiography. In both cases these women were willing at first and then used a plea of kinship ties to avoid the marriage. Mother-son, father-daughter, and brother-sister incest were all denied as possibilities. Certainly I could find no local cases of any of these. However, there was an anecdote of brother-sister incest from the Kebola peninsula. In this case the brother had been away for many years and on his return slept with his younger sister, who had grown up during his absence. The affair was generally known; they lived openly together and had a child. The informant's comment on the situation was, "That is bad. People don't get gongs and mokos in a marriage like that. Their kin were angry with them." The comments of the informant are almost more interesting than the anecdote itself. It would indicate a complete externalization of the incest breach. Not conscience but commerce is offended.

835 Sexual relations with a stepmother or a sister-in-law are also frowned
[624] upon. There is social disapproval in such cases and whispered gossip in the village but no interference. Action on "incestuous" adultery is held in check by the sense of familial solidarity. In one case of rumored sister-in-law "incest" the husband ignored the matter and stayed away from the house most of the time. In another such case, however, the
[684] husband and the woman's brother made a public scandal, imposed a heavy fine, broke the marriage, and prevented the couple, who seem to have been infatuated with each other, from marrying. In view of the levirate, it is surprising that even as much disapproval attached to the matter as did. In a case of stepmother "incest" the offended father

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ordered his kinsmen to fetch his son and tie him up. The son, unwilling to submit to this humiliation, armed himself and was prepared to fight. Rather than precipitate violence his father dropped the matter. The young man then left his father and went to live in his mother's village, where he married. After his father's death he returned to his own village and gave his father's death feasts. Even after the father's death, marriage to a stepmother would be considered incestuous. The clarification offered was, "He is the one who must give her death feasts, so it is just as though she were his real mother."

The material on incest is obviously trivial. It was practically impossible to get data, not because the informants seemed shocked, but rather because they showed so little interest and had so little to say about it. The myths and autobiographies are similarly lacking in this theme. Rilpada's dreams and some slender data on Mangma might be interpreted as showing more interest in sisters than in other women. Similarly some of the women's autobiographies indicate marked attachments to brothers. I am quite sure there was no conscious and overt awareness of incestuous attachments in the informants, and their attitudes did not seem to exceed the culturally prescribed loyalty and solidarity between siblings.

In the poorly known and varied origin myths there are some implications of brother-sister incest, but again it is not emphasized. In two versions of a myth dealing with the creation of man, Maninoti and his sister Tilamoti came down to earth from above, but the stories then continued with Manimoti's activities as a culture hero, and Tilamoti dropped out completely. In another origin tale, Manimoti and Tilamoti were two of a number of children begotten by Fuilani and the village guardian spirit. They did not marry. In a quite different type of origin tale, two pairs of brothers and sisters met and established the village of Bakudatang with its two lineage houses. One of the pairs had no mother or father and was supposed to have emerged from a cave. They married and bore children, who intermarried with the offspring of the other pair of brother-sister spouses. The whole tale is obviously fragmentary and is not widely known in Atimelang.

The significance of this lack of interest in the incest motif may be explicable in terms of the general thesis so far presented. If human relationships are on the whole shallow and impermanent, there is less likelihood of incestuous fixations, and when they do occur, they do not touch off a problem common to the majority of the people in the group, so that the chances may well be that even incest themes in introduced origin tales are largely otiose.

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therefore no surprise to learn that although the sexual impulse has not been seriously checked, the approach to the woman is filled with shyness and anxiety. It is a fact from the accounts of both men and women that it is the woman who makes the first advance. It is also significant that rape is very rare in this society. The feminine imago is bound to be associated with mother and breast, objects which he both longs to possess and fears. The attitude toward the woman is therefore controlled by two powerful forces: first, that the father can obstruct legitimate access to the woman, and second, that the woman herself is a source of anxiety.

In the face of this one may ask why there is not more male celibacy in the society. The answer probably lies in the effect of these influences upon ego ideal formation in the boy. He must derive an exaggerated idea of the value of potency — which incidentally is appreciated by the woman — but more important still, an enormously exaggerated idea of the value of status and wealth. The first represents the means of acquiring the good mother, the second the means of being equal to and opposing the despotic father. The goal of the man is fixed upon the reaffirmation of his self-esteem through the quest for wealth.

The difficulties and discomforts of a male's position cannot be overemphasized. It is interesting to note that in a society where there is a preponderance of women the actual incidence of bachelorhood is occasional, whereas no spinsterhood was observed. No wonder! The weakest must fail, but to cope with this failure society offers two possible solutions: evasion through bachelorhood, which is held in great contempt; and becoming the satellite of a more powerful male, which is merely a perpetuation of the state of childhood.

Although opportunities exist in childhood for the expression of sexuality, thereby diminishing the intensity of the Oedipus complex, the burden of conflict with the father comes in adolescence and in young manhood. By this time the boy has had too little opportunity to exercise any really effective aggression against his father, so that the expression through the quest of sexuality becomes the avenue of choice. It is not impossible to find that at this time a young man with serious sexual inhibitions makes violent gestures toward getting a wife.

As regards superego formation, it follows from the preceding description that it would of necessity be weak. The boy gets so few rewards for obedience that the threats of punishment cannot become very securely internalized. It is therefore no surprise to see that the two expressions of superego formation, religion and the technique of maintaining social cohesion, are not strong. There remain the sense